

A summary reconstruction of proto-maweti-guarani segmental phonology Uma reconstrução resumida da fonologia segmental proto-mawetí-guaraní

Sérgio Meira^I, Sebastian Drude^{II}

^IMuseu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Belém, Pará, Brasil

^{II}Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics. Nijmegen, The Netherlands

Abstract: This paper presents a succinct reconstruction of the segmental phonology of Proto-Maweti-Guarani, the hypothetical protolanguage from which modern Mawé, Aweti and the Tupi-Guarani branches of the Tupi linguistic family have evolved. Based on about 300 cognate sets from the authors' field data (for Mawé and Aweti) and from Mello's reconstruction (2000) for Proto-Tupi-Guarani (with additional information from other works; and with a few changes concerning certain doubtful features, such as the status of stem-final lenis consonants *r and *β, and the distinction of *c and *č), the consonants and vowels of Proto-Maweti-Guarani were reconstructed with the help of the traditional historical-comparative method. The development of the reconstructed segments is then traced from the protolanguage to each of the modern branches. A comparison with other claims made about Proto-Maweti-Guarani is given in the conclusion.

Key words: Historical-Comparative Method. Diachronic Linguistics. Linguistic Reconstruction. Tupi Languages. Maweti-Guarani Languages.

Resumo: Este artigo apresenta uma reconstrução resumida da fonologia segmental do Proto-Maweti-Guarani, a protolíngua hipotética intermediária, dentro da família linguística Tupi, da qual se desenvolveram o Mawé, o Aweti e as línguas Tupi-Guarani atuais. Baseando-se em cerca de 300 conjuntos de cognatos, provenientes dos dados de campo dos autores (Mawé e Aweti) e dos dados lexicais publicados por Mello (2000, Tupi-Guarani), em informações adicionais de outras fontes publicadas (com algumas modificações relativas a certos aspectos duvidosos das reconstruções atuais do Proto-Tupi-Guarani, como o *status* das consoantes lenes *r e *β em fim de palavra, e a distinção entre *c e *č), reconstruímos as consoantes e vogais do Proto-Maweti-Guarani com o auxílio do método histórico-comparativo tradicional. Ao fim do artigo, traça-se o desenvolvimento dos segmentos reconstruídos desde a protolíngua até cada um dos três ramos modernos. Na conclusão, oferecemos uma comparação rápida com outras hipóteses sobre o Proto-Maweti-Guarani.

Palavras-chaves: Método Histórico-Comparativo. Linguística Diacrônica. Reconstrução Diacrônica. Línguas Tupi. Línguas Maweti-Guarani.

MEIRA, Sérgio; DRUDE, Sebastian. A Summary Reconstruction of Proto-Maweti-Guarani Segmental Phonology. **Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas**, v. 10, n. 2, p. 275-296, maio-ago. 2015. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/1981-81222015000200005>.

Autor para correspondência: Sebastian Drude. CLARIN ERIC, Universiteit Utrecht. Trans 10, 3512 JK, Utrecht The Netherlands. E-mail: Sebastian.Drude@clarin.eu.

Recebido em 25/02/2014

Aprovado em 01/07/2015



INTRODUCTION

Of the ten branches of the Tupi family – one of the largest language families in South America, with about 50 languages spoken in lowland South America, mostly south of the Amazon river (see figure 1) (Rodrigues, 1999, Rodrigues; Cabral, 2012) – three (Mawe, Aweti, Tupi-Guarani) form a single superordinate branch, here called Maweti-Guarani (abbreviated from **Mawe-Aweti-Tupi-Guarani**) (see figure 2). First proposed by Rodrigues (1984/85), this branch has found further support in the literature (Rodrigues; Dietrich, 1997), Meira (2006), Drude (2006), Corrêa da Silva (2007, 2010), Galucio *et al.*, (2015). Working on these three branches and also in the larger context of the Tupi Comparative Project, we found many confirmations for this hypothesis and take it here for granted as our starting point.

The main purpose of this paper is to report on some of the results obtained by the authors in their ongoing efforts to reconstruct the protolanguage of the Maweti-Guarani branch, for which basic reconstructions of segmental phonology have been proposed (Rodrigues; Dietrich, 1997), Rodrigues (2005, 2007), (Rodrigues; Cabral, 2012), and the subordinate Proto-Tupi-Guarani, which has been reconstructed in more detail, including phonology and aspects of morphosyntax in Lemle (1971), Jensen (1998, 1999), Schleicher (1998), Mello (2000), and implicitly in (Rodrigues; Dietrich, 1997). Given space restrictions, the results are here simply presented and illustrated with a few examples, without much attention to exceptions or problematic cases. More detailed arguments and a full list of cognates will be given in Meira; Drude (in prep.).

The reconstruction presented here is based on the traditional 'bottom-up' historical-comparative method (Campbell, 2004). The available lexical data for three independent sub-branches were examined, and approximately 300 cognate sets involving Mawe, Aweti, and Proto-Tupi-Guarani (= PTG) were identified (the Mawe and Aweti lexemes were taken from the authors' field data; the PTG lexemes came mostly from Mello, 2000, with a few items taken from Rodrigues; Dietrich, 1997). By comparing these cognates, regular correspondence sets were established, on the basis of which specific protosegments were reconstructed for Proto-Maweti-Guarani (= PMAG). (Note that in this work, we do not offer comparisons and possible correspondences to Tupi languages outside Maweti-Guarani.) This 'bottom-up' approach differs from the 'top-down' or 'sandwich' approach taken for instance in Corrêa da Silva (2010), in which the probable PMAG reflexes of Proto-Tupi segments as proposed by Rodrigues were investigated on the basis of cognates from the three sub-branches. This approach has its own merits, as well as its own problems: by using Proto-Tupi segments as the starting point, it assumes the correctness of said segments and is thus unable to identify potential flaws in the Proto-Tupi reconstruction. The traditional, bottom-up approach used to obtain the results presented here avoids this difficulty¹.

PMAG SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

Table 1 below summarizes the segment inventory of the three branches of Maweti-Guarani, as well as the reconstructed PMAG inventory proposed in this paper.

¹ To mention one important example: with the bottom-up approach, we were able to identify one problem with the reconstruction of the so-called "relational prefixes" to Proto-Tupi. As explained in detail in Meira; Drude (2013), the reconstructed consonant *T (for PMAG we here label it *ʈ; see section 'Labial and velar stops', below) and its reflexes can account for the current distribution of forms in the present-day languages without positing the reconstruction of a proto-"relational prefix" to PMAG, and, *a fortiori*, also to Proto-Tupi, thus challenging the Proto-Tupi "relational prefix" *tʰ-, reconstructed implicitly in Rodrigues; Dietrich (1997), and explicitly in Rodrigues (2005) and Rodrigues; Cabral (2012).

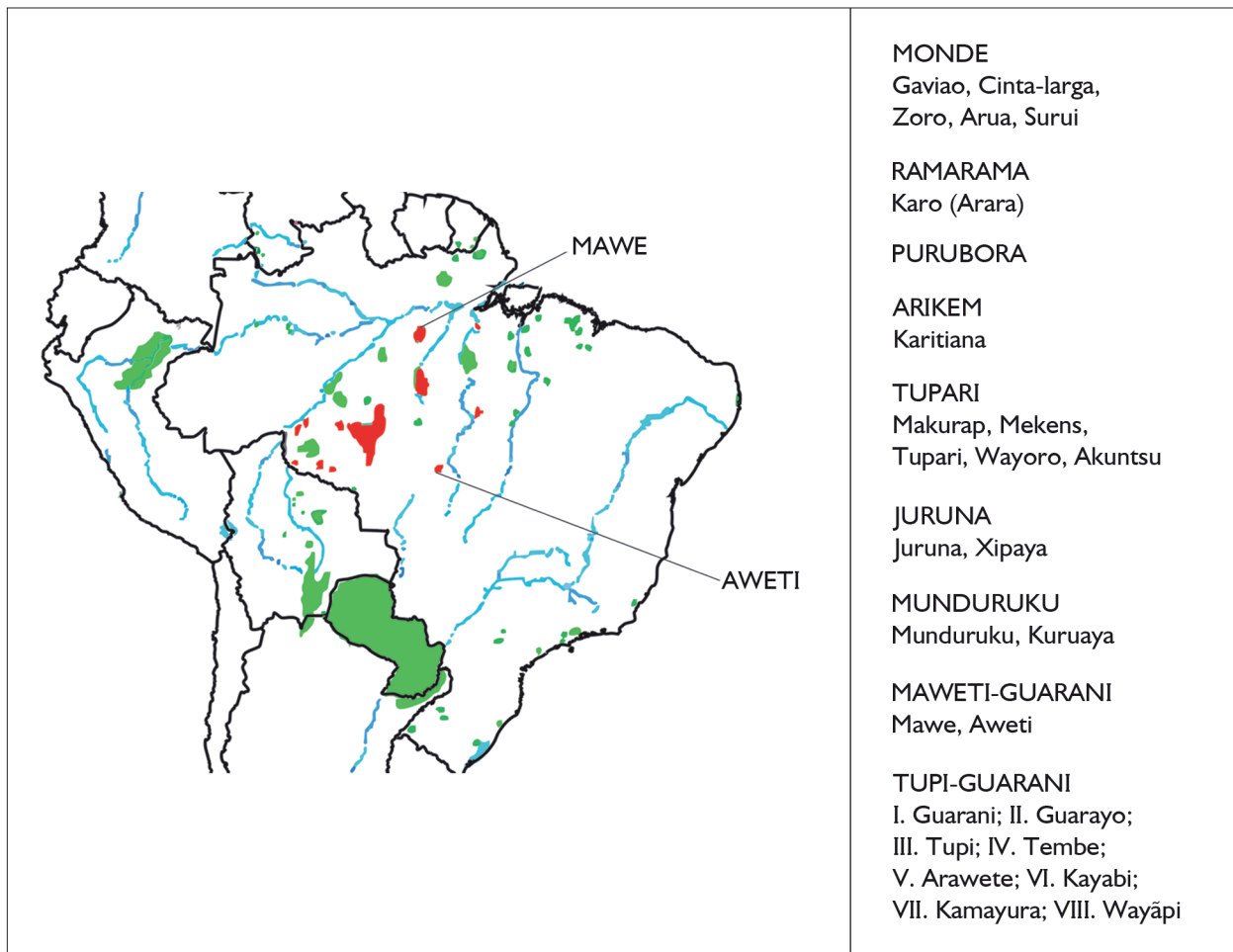


Figure 1. Geographic distribution of the languages of the Tupian family in South America (Tupi-Guarani branch in green, others in red; Mawe and Aweti branches indicated)

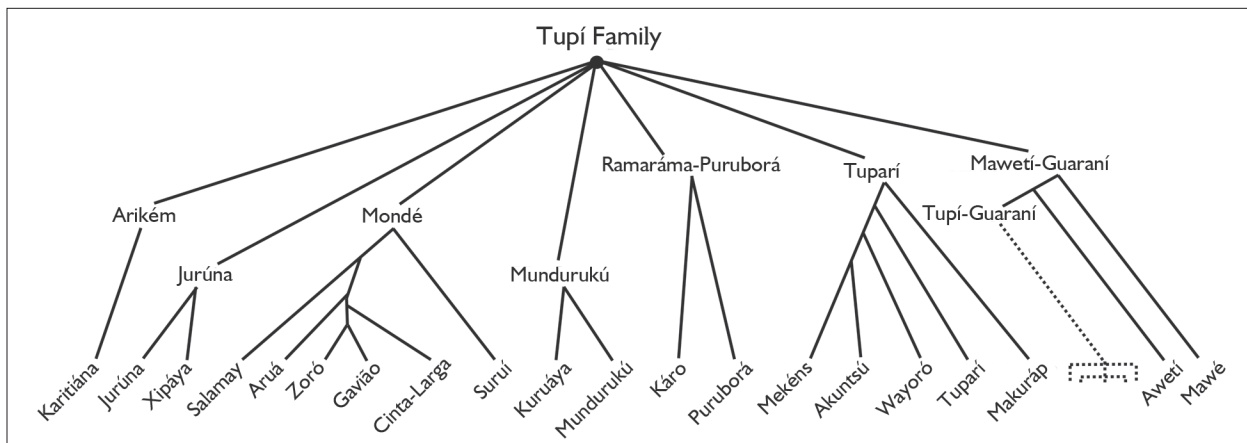


Figure 2. Currently hypothesized internal classification of the Tupian family

Table 1. Maweti-Guarani segmental inventories (PTG from Rodrigues; Dietrich, 1997).

Mawe	Aweti	PTG	PMAG
i ī u	i ī u	*i *ī *u	*i *ī *u
e o	e o	*e *o	*e *o
a	a	*a	*a
(± nasality, ± length)	(± nasality)	(± nasality)	(± nasality, ± length)
p t k ʔ	p t k ʔ	*p *t *k *ʔ	*p *t *k *ʔ
s h	c [ts]	*pʷ *kʷ	*kʷ
m n ŋ	z [z]	*pʲ *kʲ	*tʲ
r [r]	m n ŋ	*c [ts]	*β
w j	r [r]	*č [tʃ]	*m *n *ŋ
	l	*β	*r [r]
	w j	*m *n *ŋ	*w *j
		*mʷ *ŋʷ	
		*r	
		*w *j	

The vowel inventories are very similar: the three branches have six vowels with contrastive nasality (6x2 = 12 vocalic phonemes). In addition, Mawe also has contrastive vowel length, which increases the size of its vowel system to 24. In contrast, the Mawe consonant system is the poorest: only 12 consonantal segments, while Aweti has 13 and PTG, according to published reconstructions, has around 19. The most important differences are the affricates and fricatives (Mawe has *s* and *h*, missing in the other branches; Aweti has *z* [z], a unique sound in the Tupian family, and *c* [ts], also found in PTG; in addition, PTG, as postulated by Rodrigues; Dietrich (1997), also has *č [tʃ]. Note also the labialized and palatalized consonants in PTG, not found phonemically in Mawe nor Aweti.

The fact that the PTG segmental inventory is reconstructed should not be forgotten. It is here implicitly assumed that the PTG forms are generally correct. There has been, however, criticism of current PTG reconstructions (most notably, in Schleicher (1998)), some of which, in our view, is indeed accurate: we believe that there are problematic points in the current reconstruction of PTG segments in need of careful attention from specialists. Meira; Drude (in prep.), and especially Meira (in prep.), provide further details on these problematic points. Here, however, the current reconstructions (Mello, 2000; Rodrigues; Dietrich, 1997; Jensen, 1998) are assumed to be basically correct, with the following remarks:

(a) we assume that word-final consonants should be reconstructed as *fortis* (*p, *t), not *lenis* (*β, *r), given several *fortis* reflexes in present-day languages (e.g. Kamayura, optionally in Tupinamba) and the higher likelihood of lenition rather than fortition in this position, especially when followed by vowel-initial words; e.g., PTG ‘leaf’ was probably phonologically *op, not *oβ. Consequently, we adjust the spelling of reconstructed segments, changing the *lenis* consonants of the original sources to their *fortis* counterparts. (Note that intervocalic *β, *r are kept, since they have no *fortis* reflexes in the modern languages and were thus probably already *lenis* in PTG.)

(b) following Schleicher, we provisionally assume that PTG *c (= [ts]) and *č (= [tʃ]) were not distinct segments (their reflexes are only different in Guarani and its dialects, and different dialects have different reflexes, which makes

dialectal mixing a plausible possibility in need of further research). In this case, we do not alter the spelling of the reconstructions, since dialectal mixing in Guarani dialects has not yet been investigated; but the reader should keep in mind that correspondences differing only by a *c vs. *č in PTG in our view are most probably one and the same.

Of course, as the reconstruction of PTG evolves and better solutions for these and other problems are found, the reconstruction of PMAG will also evolve. The reader should bear this in mind while considering the results exposed below.

VOWELS

As was seen in Table 1 above, the vowel systems of Maweti-Guarani languages are quite conservative: the same six vowel qualities are found in all branches in identity correspondences, as can be seen in (1). (Sets are identified with a semantic label in small caps; the cognates are always in the order: Mawe : Aweti : PTG.)

- (1) *a GOOD *kahu* : *katu* : **katu*, DIE (pl) *pap* : *pap* : **pap*, FRUIT *ʔa* : *ʔa* : **ʔa*
 *e BACK *ape* : *ʔape* : **ape*, BLOW *pehu* : *petu* : **peju*, ABOUT *ete* : *eze* : **ece*
 *i EGG *upiʔa* : *n-upiʔa* : **upiʔa*, 3SG *i-* : *i-* : **i-*, SMOKE *i-hij* : *tij* : **tij*
 *ɨ MOTHER *tɨ* : *tɨ* : **čɨ*, FOOT *pɨ* : *pɨ* : **pɨ*, WIND *iwitu* : *iwit* : **iβitu*
 *o HAND *po* : *po* : **po*, LEAF *i-hop* : *op* : **op*, HOUSE *sok* : *ok* : **ok*
 *u FATHER *sup* : *up* : **up*, HOT *sakup* : *akup* : **akup*, EAT *uʔu* : *ʔu* : **ʔu*

There are also identity correspondences for nasal vowels, as shown in (2) (missing cognates are marked with a “—” dash). In addition to them, there are also correspondences involving vowels that were possibly nasalized by a following nasal consonant (e.g., FLEA *juŋ* : *tuŋ* : **tuŋ*, with [ũ], FETID *nem* : *jem* : **nem*, with [ě]) or by nasal harmony (e.g., MOSQUITO in (2) below, reconstructed with a final underlying ũ and with a phonetically nasalized *i* – [ĩ] – in the second syllable). For a detailed reconstruction of PMAG nasality and nasal harmony, see Drude (2009)².

- (2) *ã TOOTH *jāj* : *āj* : **āj*, BRANCH *jāŋã* : *akã* : **akã*
 *ē SWEET *heʔē* : *teʔē* : **čeʔē*
 *ĩ ASHAMED *-tĩ* : — : **tĩ*
 *ɨ SEED *jaʔɨj* : *aʔɨj* : **aʔɨj*
 *ō SHOOT — : *ʔiwō* : **iβō*, TWO — : *mokōj* : *mokōj*
 *ũ ANU BIRD *ajũ-nʔi* : *ajũ* : **anũ*, MOSQUITO *watiʔũ* : *taziʔũ* : **jatiʔũ*

Distinctive long vowels in Mawe were found in correspondences with short vowels in the other languages, as shown in (3), where all clear cases are listed. Since there is no clear conditioning factor for the Mawe long vowels, and since some of the examples are basic, monomorphemic vocabulary items, we reconstruct distinctive vowel

² Drude (2009), on the basis of distributional patterns, argues that the coda nasal consonants in these words are actually realizations of underlying (archi)phonemes not marked for orality or nasality, while the preceding vowels are intrinsically nasal. The question of the “best” analysis for these sequences is ultimately theoretical and beyond the scope of the present work. As the situation is the same in all three branches (and in our reconstruction of PMAG), there is, for the purposes of this work, no practical problem in keeping the usual analysis with a final nasal consonant that nasalizes the preceding vowel.

length to PMAG³. Although in principle every single oral and nasal vowel should have a long counterpart, not all combinations are attested in the available cognate sets. Note the absence of clear cases of long nasal vowels, probably a spurious gap, since long nasal vowels do occur in Mawe (e.g., *wēētem* 'to exit, to go out').

- (3)
- | | |
|-------------|--|
| *aa | SEARCH (i)kaat : (j)kat : *ekat, MOON waati : tati : *jači, SEIZE-2 aat : – : *(j)at |
| *ee | FLAT peep : iwi-pep : *pep, LICK eereep : ezep : *erep |
| *ii | SKIN/BODY piit : pit : *pit |
| *iĩ | FLOWER i-pohiit : ?a-potit : *potit, DEER – : ti-wapat, itii |
| *uu | BLACK huun : – : un |

Note that not all Mawe long vowels derive from PMAG long vowels. In, e.g., BLOOD *huu* : *uwik* : *uwi*, unlike BLACK, there is an extra *w* in the Aweti and PTG cognates, which indicates that the long *uu* in the Mawe cognate results from a **uw* sequence (PMAG **tjuwi(k)* > pre-Mawe **huw(i)* > Mawe *huu*). Similarly, the long *uu* in COME (*u*)*ut* : *ut* : **ut* occurs only in the third person (*t-uut* 's/he comes'), apparently simply the result of the assimilation of the vowel of the prefix *to-* (cf. *to-ket* 's/he sleeps') to a stem form *ut*⁴.

Finally, let us mention here some cases of non-identical vowel correspondences illustrating an interesting combined change. The examples in (4a, c, e) have *ĩ* consistently only in Aweti; in the other branches, mostly *i* occurs.

- (4)
- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | CHEST <i>poti?a</i> : <i>pozi?a</i> : * <i>poti?a</i> |
| b. | CLOUD <i>iwihiŋ</i> : <i>iwiŋ</i> : <i>iβatiŋ</i> |
| c. | MOSQUITO <i>wati?ũ</i> : <i>tazi?ũ</i> : * <i>jati?ũ</i> |
| d. | MAN'S DAUGHTER <i>saki?it</i> : <i>ati?it</i> : * <i>ajit</i> |
| e. | SHOULDER <i>jāti?ipi</i> : <i>azi?ip</i> : * <i>ati?ip</i> |

Our hypothesis for of *ĩ* : *i* : **i* in (4a, c) is that the original PMAG sequence was **ti*, which evolved into *zi* in Aweti. Note that, when the sequence *ti* occurs in Aweti (as in 4b, d), it clearly belongs to other correspondences, i.e., it has a source other than PMAG **ti* (see below). Apparently, PMAG **ti* became Aweti *zi*, perhaps via **ri* or **rj*, both of which also yield Aweti *z*. The **i* > *ĩ* change after *z* is probably motivated by the phonetic (retroflex) nature of Aweti *z* [z]: note that the sequence *zi* is synchronically impossible.

The correspondence in (4e) differs from that in (4a, c) only in PTG, where **ĩ* occurs instead of **i*. In this case, we propose that the original PMAG **i* assimilated to the vowel of the final syllable (also **ĩ*) in PTG⁵.

³ Note that other branches of Tupi (e.g., Tupari, Monde) also have distinctive vowel length. In one case, PMAG vowel length correlates with length in these other branches (cf. DEER – : *ti-wapat* : *itiĩ* above with Tuparian languages like Wayoro *itiĩ*, Mekens *itsiĩ*, or Monde languages like Gavião *itiĩ*, Zoro *itiĩ*, Surui *itji-ááp*), which suggests that length may be reconstructible to Proto-Tupi. This possibility is worthy of further research.

⁴ Some Mawe long vowels are also apparently not underlying: there seem to be certain intonational contexts in which underlying short vowels are superficially lengthened, a topic in need of further attention.

⁵ In Mello's (2000) data, some Tupi-Guarani languages have *i* in this word instead of **ĩ*. It is not clear to us why Mello reconstructed **ĩ* in the protoform for this cognate set. It seems to us that PTG may have had **ĩ* (**ati?ip*), in which case (4e) would illustrate the same correspondence as (4a, c). The assimilatory change of **i* to **ĩ* would then have happened only in some branches of Tupi-Guarani, but not at the PTG level.

CONSONANTS

In Maweti-Guarani, consonants (especially apical consonants) often change in unexpected ways, unlike vowels, which are usually quite stable. We will examine these changes in the following sections.

Labial and velar stops

In most Maweti-Guarani languages, morpheme-final stops can phonetically undergo *lenition* (basically, $p > \beta$ or w , $t > r$, and at least in Aweti also $k > \gamma$), when a new vowel-initial element (clitic, affix, often even following words) follows. Furthermore, because of nasal harmony, some languages will also (pre)nasalize stops ($p > m/[mb]$, $t > n/[nd]$, $k > \eta/[ŋg]$, and also $j > [j]$; see Drude (2006) for details) in nasal environments. This explains why correspondences involving stops will sometimes include also their nasal counterparts⁶. For PMAG $*p$, exemplified below in (5), in addition to the (very well attested) identity correspondence $p : p : *p$, there is also $p : \beta : *m$, occurring in nasal environments; they are thus all reflexes of the same protosegment. Phonologically, we assume that (cf. section ‘PMAG segmental phonology’ above) PTG morpheme-final $*\beta$ in reconstructions by others is really $*p$, and the correspondence is also in these cases $p : \beta : *p$.

(5)	$p : p : *p$	AT/IN <i>pe</i> : <i>pe</i> : <i>*pe</i> , BURN <i>api</i> : <i>api</i> : <i>*api</i> , ROOT <i>hapo</i> : <i>apo</i> : <i>*apo</i>
	Morpheme-finally:	THIGH <i>ɽup</i> : <i>ɽup</i> : <i>*ɽup</i> , HAIR <i>hap</i> : <i>ap</i> : <i>*ap</i> , LEAF <i>i-hop</i> : <i>op</i> : <i>*op</i>
	$p : \beta : *m$	LIP <i>hẽpe</i> : <i>ẽpe</i> : <i>*eme</i> , WOMAN'S SON <i>mẽpit</i> : <i>mẽpit</i> : <i>*memit</i>

Likewise, PMAG $*k$, in (6), also has identity ($k : k : k$) and nasal ($k : k : \eta$) correspondences, the latter again reflecting different phonological analyses. There is in principle no lenis correspondence (reflecting the fact that PTG word-final $*k$, unlike other stops, was reconstructed as *fortis* rather than *lenis*, since it apparently almost never *lenites* in Tupi-Guarani languages), although one can notice that word-final k in Aweti can be realized as $[\gamma]$ when a vowel-initial clitic or suffix follows (e.g., *ok* ‘house’, *oγ-iwo* ‘in the house’). This $[\gamma]$ is analyzed as an allophone of k , though there is some evidence that it may be in the process of becoming an independent phoneme in Aweti.

(6)	$k : k : *k$	BONE <i>kaŋ</i> : <i>kaŋ</i> : <i>*kaŋ</i> , FIELD <i>ko</i> : <i>ko</i> : <i>*ko</i> , PULL <i>ekij</i> : <i>ekij</i> : <i>*ekij</i>
	$k : k[\gamma] : *k$	SEIZE <i>pitik</i> : <i>pitik</i> : <i>*picik</i> , HOUSE <i>hok</i> : <i>ok</i> : <i>*ok</i>
	$k : k : *ŋ$	MORTAR <i>wẽkuʔa</i> : <i>ʔẽkuʔa</i> : <i>*iŋuʔa</i>

None of the correspondences in (5) or (6) involves PTG labialized or palatalized stops, $*p^w$, $*k^w$, $*p^j$ and $*k^j$. For $*p^j$, this is not surprising, since it is a rather marginal segment (it has been proposed only in PTG **epiak* ‘to see’). For $*p^w$ and $*k^w$, the few available cognates in (7) suggest that these ‘segments’ are or result from sequences. For $*k^j$, it would seem that the source is simply PMAG $*k$ when followed by $*e$. In PTG, $*k^j$ is an extremely rare consonant, only reconstructed before $*e$ (Mello (2000) has only **kiet* ‘sleep’; Rodrigues (2007) only **kiet* ‘sleep’ and **ejkie* ‘enter’),

⁶ This depends on the analysis of nasal harmony in a given language. In (5), WOMEN'S SON and LIP have the same pronunciation ([*mẽmbit*], [(*h*)*ẽmbe*]) in all branches, but [*mb*] is synchronically an allophone of /*p*/ in Mawe and Aweti, but of /*m*/ in PTG. In other words, PTG postnasalizes consonants followed by oral vowels, while Mawe and Aweti prenasalize consonants preceded by nasal vowels. See Drude (2006), Meira; Drude (in prep) for further details.

without clear contrast with **ke*⁷. For this reason, we propose that *k : c : *k'* (= **k*) and *k : t : *k'/k* both reflect PMAG **k*, the former when preceded by **j*.

- (7)
- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>pu : pu : *pʷ</i> | FINGER (NAIL) <i>puʔujã : puã : *pʷã</i> |
| <i>ko : kw : *kʷ</i> | PASS <i>kosap : kwap : *kʷap</i> |
| <i>k : c : *k'</i> | ENTER <i>we-eke : ece : *(e)jk'e</i> |
| <i>k : t : *k'/k</i> | SLEEP <i>ket : tet : *k'iet</i> , DOOR <i>oken-ipi : oten : *oken</i> ,
MAN'S OLDER BROTHER <i>ʔikeʔet : itiʔit : *ʔikeʔit</i> |

Palatal and alveolar stops

PMAG **t* is more complicated. As shown in (8), one does find the expected identity (*t : t : *t*), also in morpheme-final position (other reconstructions have PTG **r* in this position), and nasal (*t : t : *n*) in the nasal environment. Curiously, non-morpheme-final *t : t : *t* is a surprisingly small correspondence, with only 7 attested examples (the three in (8), and BURITI (PALM) *miriti : – : *miriti*, TRAÍRA (FISH) *taraʔira : – : taraʔir-a*, VILLAGE *taawa : – : *taʔa*, and WIND *iwitu : iwit : iʔitu*), most of which are missing in Aweti and probable borrowings in Mawe (presumably, from PTG to Mawe via Lingua Geral: BURITI (PALM), TRAÍRA (FISH), CORN, VILLAGE, WIND; the last three were also considered possible borrowings in Rodrigues; Dietrich (1997)). SLAP could also be a borrowing (cf. Portuguese *peteca* 'shuttlecock'); only for ASHAMED does this seem unlikely (note that, in both cases, an Aweti cognate is missing). Given this suspicious status of *t : t : *t*, we propose that *t : t : *č/c* (assuming, as suggested in section 'PMAG segmental phonology', that PTG **č* and **c* actually were the same) is the basic correspondence for PMAG **t*, in non-morpheme-final, non-nasal contexts.

- (8)
- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>t : t : *t</i> | CORN <i>awati : awati : *aʔati</i> , SLAP <i>petek : – : *petek</i> , ASHAMED <i>-tĩ : – : *tĩ</i> |
| Morpheme-final: | FALL <i>aʔat : ʔat : *ʔat</i> , NAME <i>het : et : *et</i> , SALT <i>ukit : tukit : *jukit</i> |
| <i>t : t : *n</i> | SALIVA <i>jěti-hi : – : *eni</i> , SEE/HEAR <i>wan-ětup : (ě)tup : *enup</i> |
| <i>t : t : *č</i> | BITE <i>ka-tuʔu : tuʔu : čuʔu</i> , PAIN <i>sati : ati : *ač'i</i> , EXIT <i>wě-tem : tem : čem</i> |
| <i>t : t : *c</i> | GO <i>to : to : *co</i> , HEAVY <i>potij : potij : *pocij</i> SEIZE <i>pitik, pitik, *picik</i> |

The correspondences below, in (9), are ascribed to **t* when followed by **i*. Basically, PMAG **ti* evolves so that *ri : zi : *ti* (*r : z : *t*) results word-finally, *ti : zi : *ti* (*t : z : *t*) non-word-finally (i.e., word-initially or word-medially) if no other vowel follows, *rj : z : *t* if an oral vowel follows, and *j : t : *t* if a nasal vowel follows. The final correspondence, *t : c : ʔ*⁸, apparently occurs if **ti* is followed by **e*; but note that only one example occurs in the available data. It is also

⁷ Mello has only four cases of PTG **ke*: **kerap* 'to close', **keramu* 'to snore', **purake* 'electric eel' and **ukeʔi* (doubtful) 'sister/brother-in-law' (the latter apparently related to MAN'S OLDER BROTHER). Mello claims that **k* and **k'* have different reflexes in Siriono, Apiaka, Kayabi, Urubu-Kaapor and (sometimes) Tembe, but, in his data: (a) these languages are all missing in the sets for **kerap* and **ukeʔi*; (b) only Siriono occurs in the **keramu* cognate set, where it has the same reflex (*kenāmu* with *k*) as in **k'iet* (> *ke*, also with *k*); and (c) in **purake*, Tembe and Urubu-Kaapor both occur with *k* (*murake*, *purake*), while in **k'iet* only the Urubu-Kaapor reflex is different (*fer* with *f*), while the Tembe reflex is simply *ker*, with the same *k* as in **purake*. There is thus almost no evidence in Mello (2000) to support a distinction between PTG **ke* and **k'e*.

⁸ In correspondence sets, "ʔ" stands for an unknown segment.

possible to account for ASHAMED, the best cognate set from $t : t : *t$ in (7) above, by re-assigning it to $*t : z : t$ (which is possible because Aweti lacks a cognate in this set). In sum, bringing together the $*t$ correspondences in (8) and (9): PMAG $*t\# = t : t : *r$, PMAG $*V_{[+nas]}tV = t : t : n$, PMAG $*ti\# = ri : zi : *ti$, PMAG $*tiC = ti : zi : *ti$, PMAG $*tiV_{[nas]} = rj : z : *t$ (but $*tie = t : c : ?$), PMAG $*tiV_{[+nas]} = j : t : t$; elsewhere, PMAG $*t = t : t : *č/c$.

(9)	$t : z : *t$	CHEST <i>potiʔa : poziʔa : *potiʔa</i> , MOSQUITO <i>watiʔũ : taziʔũ : *jatiʔũ</i> ; see (4)
	$r : z : *t$	TORTOISE <i>wawori : tawozi : *jaBoti</i> , AGOUTI <i>akuri : akuzu ʔjit : *akuti</i>
	$rj : z : *t$	FIRE <i>arja : aza : *ata</i> , MANY <i>-rja : -za : *eta</i>
	$j : t : *t$	FLEA <i>juj : tuj : *tunj</i> , CURASSOW <i>mijũ : mituj : *mitũ</i> , PLACE <i>ejam : etam : *etam</i>
	$t : c : ?$	SQUIRREL <i>kutiere : kucezeʔjit : -</i>

In addition to $*t$, we reconstruct another palatal stop $*tʃ$ for the correspondences shown in (10) below⁹. For non-nasal environments, the proposed distribution is: (a) $h : t : *t$ after a preceding $*j$; (b) $h : t : *c$ after a preceding $*i$; (c) elsewhere (i.e., without a preceding $*j$ or $*i$), $s : t : *t$ word-initially in oral environments, $j : t : *t$ word-initially in nasal environments, $s : \emptyset : *t$ word-internally in oral environments, and $j : j : *j$ word-internally in nasal environments. In sum, schematically: PMAG $*jtʃ = h : t : *t$, PMAG $*itʃ = h : t : *c$, PMAG $*\#tV_{[-nas]} = s : t : *t$, PMAG $*\#tV_{[+nas]} = j : t : *t$, PMAG $*X_{[≠ij]}tV_{[-nas]} = s : \emptyset : \emptyset$, PMAG $*X_{[≠ij]}tV_{[+nas]} = j : j : *j$ ¹⁰. To motivate the distribution proposed for the first two correspondences, it is necessary to examine the person-marking paradigms of $*tʃ$ -initial stems. In (11), comparing the Mawe forms for *set ~ het* 'name' (< PMAG $*tʃet$) and *ti* 'mother' (< PMAG $*ti$), we see that the h -initial forms of 'name' occur in the same persons in which there is a prefix ending in i - on 'mother'. By internal reconstruction, one can restore this i in the paradigms that no longer have it, yielding, for 'name', PMAG $*uj-tʃet$, $*e-tʃet$, $*i-tʃet$, which provides the environments for $h : t : *t$, $s : \emptyset : \emptyset$, and $h : t : *c$. Similarly, for 'tooth', PMAG $*uj-tʃäj$, $*e-tʃäj$, $*i-tʃäj$ produces the environments for $h : t : *t$, $j : j : *j$, and $h : t : *c$ (see also fn. 8). For further details on this reconstruction, see Meira and Drude (2013).

(10)	$s : t : *t$	ARMADILLO <i>sahu : tatu-pep : *tatu</i> , HUNGER <i>siiʔat : - : *tiʔa-ʔot</i>
	$s : \emptyset : *t$	PASS <i>kosap : kwap : *kʷap</i> , HEAD HAIR <i>asap : ʔap : *ʔap</i>
	$h : t : *t$	GOOD <i>kahu : katu : *katu</i> , FLOWER <i>i-pohiit : ʔa-potit : *potit</i> , SWIM <i>iha : ita : *itap</i>
	$h : t : *c$	'his/her tooth' <i>hāj : tāj : *cāj</i> , 'his/her name' <i>het : tet : *cet</i> ; see (9) and fn. 8

⁹ As with all reconstructed protosegments, the phonetic quality of the segment we label here as $*tʃ$ is unknown. By its current-day reflexes, it may also have been [c], [tʰ], [tʃs], [tʃj], [tʃç] or similar. An apical stop (component) is probable because in Aweti and PTG it developed into an apical stop or (probably later?) affricate, while in Mawe it often resulted in fricatives and sometimes [h], possibly via [tʃs], [tʃj], [tʃç] and then [s], [ç] or [ç]. The choice of $*tʃ$ as the label for this protosegment was also inspired by Schleicher's (1998) suggestion, for a similar pattern (internal to PTG), that this would make the PTG reflex $*t$ after $*j$ (PMAG $*j-t >$ PTG $*t$) be describable as the result of dissimilation. See also the discussion at the end of the section 'The evolution of Maweti-Guarani segmental phonology'.

¹⁰ The details are more complicated than that, since the reflexes of PMAG $*tʃ$ depend also on the syntactic context ($*tʃ >$ PTG $*r$ within phrase boundaries; see Meira; Drude, 2013, in prep.). Note that sets like HAIR *sap : ap : *ap* appear to contradict the word-initial correspondence $s : t : *t$; this contradiction, however, is only apparent, for two reasons: (a) in Aweti (and in PTG), the originally stem-initial t (< PMAG $*tj$) in the first- and third-person forms has been reanalyzed as part of the preceding prefix – see 'name', 'tooth' in (9) – so that these stems are now vowel-initial in their non-possessed form; and (b) in PTG, the reflexes of word-initial PMAG $*tʃ$ (which, as hinted above, depend on the syntactic context), are traditionally analyzed as ('relational') prefixes and thus eliminated (in our view, wrongly) from the reconstructed PTG stems in the available sources (Mello, 2000; Rodrigues, 2005, 2007). The non-possessed (or 'generic human') forms of these stems, with the prefix-final t in Aweti turned back to stem-initial consonant, do follow $s : t : t$ (*set : (t)et : *tet*) and $j : t : t$ (*jāj : (t)āj : *tāj*).

- $j : t : *t^{11}$ 'non-possessed (generic human) tooth' *jāj*, (*tāj*), **tāj*; see (9) and fn. 8
 $j : j : *j$ 'your tooth' *e-jāj* : *e-āj* : **e-(j)āj* (pronounced [eɲāj]); see (9), (16), and fn. 8

(11) Some Maweti-Guarani paradigms (order: first, second, third person)

	Mawe	Aweti ¹²	PTG ¹³
'mother'	<i>uj-ti</i> , <i>e-ti</i> , <i>i-ti</i>	<i>i-ti</i> , <i>e-ti</i> , <i>i-ti</i>	<i>*wi-či</i> , <i>*e-či</i> , <i>*j-či</i>
'name'	<i>u-het</i> , <i>e-set</i> , <i>het</i>	<i>i-t-et</i> , <i>e-et</i> , <i>t-et</i>	<i>*wi-t-et</i> , <i>*e-et</i> , <i>*c-et</i>
'tooth'	<i>u-hāj</i> , <i>e-jāj</i> , <i>hāj</i>	<i>i-t-āj</i> , <i>e-j-āj</i> , <i>t-āj</i>	<i>*wi-t-āj</i> , <i>*e-(j)āj</i> , <i>*c-āj</i>

Finally, the two exceptional cases of $h : t : *č/c$ in (12) need to be discussed here.

- (12) $h : t : *č/c$ MEDICINE *pohanj* : *potanj* : **pocanj*, EYE (*eha*) : (*eta*) : **eča*/**eca*

Following rule (b) in the preceding paragraph, one would posit a sequence **i-t* for these words, which seems odd word-internally, though it is not unthinkable that they were at first sequences of nouns the second of which was marked for third person (**po i-tanj*, **e i-ta*). A more likely explanation, however, is an earlier consonant cluster: a preceding consonant can influence the reflexes of PMAG **tj* (e.g., PMAG **ɽip* 'tree' + **tiop* 'leaf' > Mawe *ihop* 'leaf', with *h* instead of the *s* usually found intervocally; cf. PMAG **pa* 'head' + **tiap* 'hair' > Mawe *asap* 'head hair'). In Meira; Drude (2013, p. 15-17), the allomorphic patterns of stems co-occurring with the gerund suffix *-aw* in Aweti were used to identify the development of **C-tj* clusters: the final consonant remained fortis if oral, and added an extra oral 'tail' at the end if nasal (**p-tj* > *p*, **t-tj* > *t*, **k-tj* > *k*, **m-tj* > *mp*, **n-tj* > *nt*, **ŋ-tj* > *ŋk*). Since the Aweti cognates contain *t* in both EYE and MEDICINE, we propose that these result from **t-tj* clusters, probably involving morpheme boundaries (i.e., PMAG **pot-tanj*, **et-ta*)¹⁴.

Fricatives and approximants (glides)

Most Maweti-Guarani fricatives and affricates were involved in the stop correspondences reviewed in the previous section. Only PMAG **β* remains, with examples like those in (13).

¹¹ Note that $j : t : *t$ in (8) and (9) are not the same correspondence: they have different distributions. The former, from **tiV*_[+nas], occurs word-initially (FLEA) and word-internally (CURASSOW, PLACE), while the latter, from **tV*_[+nas], occurs only word-initially ('non-possessed tooth'). In other words, the difference between **tiV*_[+nas] and **tV*_[+nas] is neutralized word-initially (FLEA **tiuj* and 'non-possessed tooth' **tāj* have the same initial segments in their reflexes), but not word-internally: compare PLACE **etiam* (> *ejam* : *etam* : **etam*) with 'your tooth' **etāj* (> *ejāj* : *ejāj* : **e(j)āj*).

¹² The Aweti third-person forms have the prefix *i-* ('his/her/its'), used only in female speech; the non-cognate *n(a)-* 'his/her/its', from the male genderlect, is a later development in Aweti.

¹³ The PTG first- and second-person forms have the coreferential prefixes, as reconstructed in Jensen (1999) and (for vowel-initial stems) in Meira; Drude (2013).

¹⁴ For EYE, additional evidence pointing towards morphological complexity comes from possessive paradigms. In Aweti, the non-possessed form is *ta*, so that the additional initial *e* looks like the extra *e* found in alienable nouns (e.g., *kite* 'knife', *it-e-kite* 'my knife'). In Mawe, *eha* patterns like the (not always semantically alienable) members of the *he* class, characterized by an extra initial *he*: *kise* 'knife', *u-he-kise* 'my knife'. In addition, the third-person form *heha* has an irregular variant *iha*, with the third-person prefix *i-* directly added to the final syllable *ha*, suggesting that the initial *he* may indeed not have been, at least historically, part of the stem.

- (13) $w : w : *β$ FACE (e)wa : owa : *oβa, TORTOISE wawori : tawozi : *jaβoti

PMAG $*β$ contrasts with the correspondences in (14), here reconstructed as PMAG $*w$. $∅ : w : *w$ occurs if the following vowel is $*u$ (assuming $*...uwi > *...uw(u) > ...uu$; note that the sequence wu cannot occur in present-day Mawe); elsewhere, $w : w : *w$ is found.

- (14) $w : w : *w$ BIG wato : watu : *waču, TAIL suwaj-po : uwaj : *uwaj
 $∅ : w : *w$ BLOOD suu : uwik : *uwi

Contrasting with $*β$ and $*w$, there are the correspondences listed in (15), for which we reconstruct PMAG $*k^w$ (note that the Aweti reflexes are stops, including k). Their distribution is as follows: (a) $w : k : *j$ occurs before $*i$; (b) $h : t : *j$ occurs before $*u$, in the final syllable of a morpheme; (c) $∅ : t : *j$ occurs before $*u$, in a non-final syllable¹⁵; (d) elsewhere, $w : t : *j$ occurs.

- (15) $w : t : *j$ MOON waati : tati : *jači, TORTOISE wawori : tawozi : *jaβoti, RFL we- : te- : *je-
 $w : k : *j$ AX iwi-hap : ki : ji, COOKED wip : o-kip : *jip, GO DOWN – : e-kip : *we-jip
 $h : t : *j$ RED hup : tup : *jup, BLOW pehu : petu : *peju, NECK hut-ʔip : tur-ʔip : *jut
 $∅ : t : *j$ SALT ukit : tukit : *jukit, KILL ʔa-uka : – : *juka

Finally, there is PMAG $*j$ from the identity $j : j : *j$ in (16), found only syllable-finally. Note that it is different from the $j : j : *j (< *t)$ in (10) above: the latter, unlike the former, occurs only syllable initially, in nasal contexts.

- (16) $j : j : *j$ PULL ekij : ekij : *ekij, FEED poj : poj : *poj, TOOTH jāj : āj : *āj

Rhotics and liquids

PMAG $*r$ could in principle be based on the two correspondences in (17). Since, however, the first one occurs only in probable borrowings (note the uncharacteristic unstressed a in Mawe *piira* 'fish', suggestive of a borrowing), we only reconstruct the second one as PMAG $*r$.

- (17) $r : r : *r$ FISH piira : pira-ʔit : *pira, CHIEF morekwat : morekwat : –
 $r : z : *r$ LICK eereep : ezeep : *erep, VULTURE uruwu : uzuwu : uruβu, COM.CAUS er(e)- : zo- : (e)ro-

The correspondences in (18) involve either PMAG $*r$ in nasal contexts, or PMAG $*n$; the two sounds are very close, and may have been in variation in some cases already in PMAG. We propose here that $r : l : *r$ reflects PMAG $*r$ in non-word-initial nasal environments, $n : l : *r$ reflects PMAG $*r$ in word-initial nasal environments (i.e., PMAG $*rōp$), and that $n : j : *n/r$ reflects PMAG $*r$ or $*n$ (perhaps in variation) in nasal environments with a palatal element – the e in

¹⁵ An alternative criterion determining the occurrence of this correspondence is probably stress, since, in Maweti-Guarani languages, stress usually falls on the final syllable of a word.

FETID (> PMAG **nem* ~ **rem*), or an extra **i* or **j* in DO. Given, however, that the number of examples in the available data is quite reduced, we consider this reconstruction to be preliminary¹⁶.

- (18) *r* : *l* : **r* NAVEL *p̄irumʔa* : *p̄ilup* : *p̄iru(ʔ)ã*, RED-2 - : *p̄ilaŋ* : *p̄iraŋ*
n : *l* : **r* BITTER *nop* : *lop* : **rop*
n : *j* : **n/r* FETID *nem* : *jem* : **nem/*rem*, DO *nun* : *jun* : **ruŋ/ron/non*

Nasals

The status of nasal consonants in Maweti-Guarani languages depends on the specifics of nasal harmony: sometimes nasal consonants nasalize surrounding segments, sometimes they are nasalized versions of oral consonants (see the sections ‘Labial and velar stops’ and ‘Palatal and alveolar stops’). The reconstruction of PMAG nasal consonants depends therefore on the reconstruction of PMAG nasal harmony, which will not be discussed here in detail (see Drude 2009; Meira; Drude, in prep.). It must be said, though, that nasal harmony makes the status of nasal consonants easier to ascertain at word boundaries than word-internally.

PMAG **m* can be safely reconstructed for the identity correspondence in (19), both word-initially and word-finally. Word-internally, it seems to occur mostly in possible borrowings (BEANS *kumanã* : *kumanaʔi* : *kumana*); the two clearly non-borrowed examples are in (19).

- (19) *m* : *m* : **m* O.NZ *mi-* : *mi-* : **mi-*, SNAKE *moj* : *moj* : **moj*, EXIT *wě-tem* : *tem* : **čem*
RAIN *iʔama(a)n* : *aman* : **aman*, GRANDFATHER *h-amũ* : *amũj* : **amõj*

The correspondences in (20) stem from PMAG **n*. The first one, *n* : *n* : **n*, occurs syllable-finally, and syllable-initially if the following vowel is **i* (and in a few possible borrowings: e.g., again, BEANS). The second one, *n* : *j* : **n*, occurs syllable-initially if the following vowel is not **i* (note the similarity with *n* : *j* : *n/r* in (18) above). The third one, *j* : *j* : **n*, occurs only in one example in the available data; we reconstruct it as **nj* or **ni* + a vowel, i.e., **anjũ* or **aniũ*¹⁷.

- (20) *n* : *n* : **n* MANIOC *mani* : *mani-ʔok* : **mani-ʔok*, TOUCAN *jũkan* : *tukan* : **tukan*
n : *j* : **n* THICK *iʔanam* : *ʔajam* : **anam*, MAN’S SISTER *inĩt* : *jĩt* : **enĩt*, CALL *h-enoj* : *ejõj* : **enõj*
j : *j* : **n* ANU BIRD *ajũn-ʔi* : *ajũ* : *anũ*

¹⁶ One might also posit an independent PMAG segment **l* to account for these correspondences; but, given that most cases attested in our cognate sets involve nasal environments in at least one of the reflexes, this would be a more costly solution. For the time being, we prefer to assume that the nasal environment was lost in Aweti, and occasionally also in PTG, as in BITTER. (Note that the extent of variation in PTG in these cases — cf. FETID and DO — is unclear and in need of further research. Possible nasal alternants of PTG **rop* may have been missed in Mello 2000. In this context, it is interesting to mention the Tocantins Asurini cognate *-rap*, from *mo-rap* ‘to make (something) bitter’ in Cabral; Rodrigues, 2003. According to Lemle (1971), Asurini oral *a* can reflect PTG **o*, but also **õ*, which merged with it in the process of loss of distinctive vowel nasality in Asurini. A source **rõp* ~ **rom* is thus not implausible.) However, depending on the nature of final segments and rules of nasal harmony, **rõp* could not have been possible but rather realized as **rom* [rõm], as is the case in Aweti and probably in PTG (final segments harmonize in nasality with preceding vowels), and the **m* would be expected to be preserved.

¹⁷ It is somewhat surprising that **n* could become **j* without a contiguous palatalizing factor. In section ‘Labial and velar stops’ above, we proposed **ti* or **tj*, rather than **t*, for *j* : *t* : *t* precisely to avoid such a situation. It is indeed possible that the actual realization of the source of *n* : *j* : **n* was palatal (**nʲ* or **nj*); but, given its complementary distribution with *n* : *n* : **n*, and the existence of a better candidate (*j* : *j* : **n*) for a palatalized segment or sequence, this **nʲ* or **nj* was, at best, an allophone of **n*. Note also how phonetically similar *n*, *ŋ* and *j* (and also *r*) can be in nasal environments, especially in languages in which nasal harmony routinely affects consonantal segments. Changing a previous **n* into **ŋ* > **j* in a nasal environment may therefore not be surprising.

Finally, PMAG * η is also easy to reconstruct on the basis of (21) below, with η : η : * η occurring word-finally and η : k : k syllable-initially.

(21)	η : η : * η	BONE <i>kaη</i> : <i>kaη</i> : * <i>kaη</i> , FLEA <i>juη</i> : <i>tuη</i> : * <i>tuη</i> , SMOKE <i>i-hiη</i> , <i>tiη</i> , * <i>tiη</i>
	η : k : k	WASP <i>ŋap</i> : <i>kap</i> : * <i>kap</i> , LOUSE <i>ŋip</i> : <i>ʔa-kip</i> : * <i>kíp</i> , BRANCH <i>janā</i> : <i>akā</i> : * <i>akā</i>
		TERMITE <i>ŋupi-ʔa</i> : <i>kupi-ʔa</i> , <i>kupi-ʔi</i> : * <i>kupi-ʔi</i>

Glottals

Finally, there is PMAG * $\ʔ$, a segment that can be easily reconstructed on the basis of the identity correspondence in (22). There are also examples with non-identity correspondences – usually with the glottal being absent in one of the languages – but it is difficult in these cases to know whether the missing glottal stop is really absent or its absence results from mistranscriptions. We will therefore not consider these cases in detail, for which see Meira; Drude (in prep.).

(22)	$\ʔ$: $\ʔ$: * $\ʔ$	FALL <i>aʔat</i> : <i>ʔat</i> : * <i>ʔat</i> , WATER <i>iʔi</i> : <i>ʔi</i> : * <i>ʔi</i> , EGG <i>upiʔa</i> : <i>n-upiʔa</i> : * <i>upiʔa</i>
------	----------------------	--

THE EVOLUTION OF MAWETI-GUARANI SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

Except for the PMAG * i > Aweti * $ɨ$ change in * ti > zi (see the correspondences in (9), in section ‘Palatal and alveolar stops’), vowels remained mostly unchanged in Maweti-Guarani, with only sporadic cases of assimilation (cf. the discussion of 4e) and a few irregularities (most notably u : o / o : u in, e.g., BIG *wato* : *watu* : *waču* or GRANDFATHER *h-amũ* : *amũj* : *amõj*) which remain as objects for future research¹⁸. Consonants, however, underwent several complicated changes, as summarized below.

Of all PMAG consonants, only * m , * j and * $\ʔ$ underwent no changes (excluding apparently irregular cases of loss of the former two; see Meira; Drude, in prep.).

PMAG * p , * t , * k were nasalized (phonemically, though not phonetically) to * m , * n , * η after a nasal vowel in PTG (WOMAN’S SON **mēpit* > **memit*); in current reconstructions, * p and * t also lenited to * β and * r word-finally, though it seems more likely that they had not yet lenited in PTG times (DIE **pap* > **pap*, not **paβ*; NAME **tiet* > *(*r*)*et*, not *(*r*)*er*). The PTG labialized and palatalized stops (* p^w , * $pʲ$, * k^w , * $kʲ$, * η^w , * m^w) appear to result from earlier vowel sequences (PASS **kotiap* > **kʷap*) or palatalization (SLEEP **ket* > **kʲet*, **kʲ* having a doubtful status in PTG). Aweti shows an unusual change of * k to t before e and i , and to c in that position after j (ENTER), probably also via palatalization.

PMAG * β and * w merged in Mawe and Aweti (TORTOISE **kʷaβoti* > *wawori*, *tawozi*). PMAG * w and * k^w merged also in Mawe, both being lost before * u (but * k^w > h if the syllable was stressed: SALT **kʷukit* > *ukit*, RED **kʷup* > *hup*); in Aweti, * k^w > t (TORTOISE), except before * $ɨ$, where * k^w > k (COOKED **kʷip* > *o-kip*). In PTG * k^w > j (TORTOISE **kʷaβoti* > **jaβoti*).

PMAG * ni (or * nj), when followed by a vowel, changed to j in Mawe and Aweti, and to * n in PTG (ANU BIRD **anjũ*, **aniũ* > *ajũ-nʔi* : *ajũ* : **anũ*). In nasal environments, PMAG * ri (or * rj) with a following vowel changed to n in Mawe and to j in Aweti, while in PTG it oscillated between * r and * n (DO **riug*, **rjuŋ* > *nug* : *juŋ* : **ruŋ* ~ **roŋ* ~ **noŋ*); elsewhere,

¹⁸ Vowels did remain mostly stable between PMAG and PTG, but there are a few instances of more substantial changes between PTG and the present-day Tupi-Guarani languages. Leite (1982, 2012) describes how Tocantins Asurini merged PTG * \bar{a} , * \bar{o} , * o and * u into o (with some o ’s later becoming a ’s), while Tapirape underwent a push-chain change in which PTG * \bar{a} became \bar{i} , * \bar{a} became * \bar{a} , * o became a , and * u became o , and Guajajara changed * \bar{a} (and a few cases of * a) into * \bar{a} and denasalized * \bar{i} , * \bar{e} , * \bar{u} , and \bar{o} into i , e , u , and o .

**r* in nasal environments changed to Aweti *l* (NAVEL **pirumṛã* > *pilup*), and to Mawe *n* word-initially (BITTER **rõp* > *nop*; cf. Aweti *lop*). In other, non-nasal, environments, **r* was conserved in Mawe and PTG but became **z* in Aweti (LICK **eereep* > *eereep* : *ezepe* : **ereḅ*)¹⁹.

PMAG **ti* (or **tj*) became *c* before *e* and *z* before other vowels in Aweti (SQUIRREL **kutiere*, **kutjere* > *kuceze ṽit*, FIRE **atia*, **atja* > *t-aza*); before consonants and word-finally, it became Aweti *zi* (CHEST **potiṽa* > *poziṽa*, TORTOISE **kʷaḅoti* > *tawozi*). In Mawe, PMAG **ti* (or **tj*) became *rj* before an oral vowel (FIRE **atia*, **atja* > *arja*) and *ri* word-finally (TORTOISE **kʷaḅoti* > *wawori*), and *j* before a nasal vowel (FLEA **tiuj*, **tjuj* > *juj*); in PTG, it became **t* before a vowel (FIRE **atia*, **atja* > **ata*). Elsewhere, PMAG **t* was conserved in Mawe and Aweti. In PTG, it became **r* word-finally according to current reconstructions, but this is probably not correct (NAME **t̃et* > **er*, probably **et*); elsewhere (i.e., syllable-initially, before all vowels except *i*), it became **č/c*.

Finally, PMAG **t̃* was not retained as such in any language. After **i* or **j*, **t̃* became *h* in Mawe, perhaps via an intermediate affricate or fricative phase (in (11) and fn. 5, ‘his/her name’ **i-t̃et* > *het*; ‘my name’ **uj-t̃et* > *uhet*) and *t* in Aweti (**i-t̃et* > **tet* > *t-et* ‘his/her name’, **uj-t̃et* > **wi-tet* > *it-et* ‘my name’); in PTG, **t̃* became **t* after **j* (**uj-t̃et* > **wi-tet* > **wit-et* ‘my name’) but **č/c* after **i* (**i-t̃et* > **cet* ‘his/her name’). If no *i* or *j* preceded it, **t̃* became *j* ([ɲ]) in nasal environments in Mawe (in (11) and fn. 5, ‘non-possessed tooth’ **t̃äj* > *jäj*, ‘your tooth’ **e-t̃äj* > *e-jäj*), thus merging with **tj*, **ti* + vowel (compare FLEA **tiuj*, **tjuj* > *juj*, PLACE **etiam*, **etjam* > *ejam*). In Aweti and PTG, in nasal environments, **t̃* became *j* word-internally and *t* word-initially (‘non-possessed tooth’ **t̃äj* > *täj*, **t̃äj*, but ‘your tooth’ **e-t̃äj* > *e-jäj*, **e-jäj*); in both cases, **t̃* remained distinct from **tj*, **ti* + vowel, which became *t* (compare FLEA **tiuj*, **tjuj* > *tuj*, **tuj*, PLACE **etiam*, **etjam* > *etam*, **etam*). After **p*, PMAG **t̃* disappeared in Mawe (LEAF **ṽip* ‘tree’ + **t̃op* ‘leaf’ > *ihop*); after all consonants, it also disappeared in Aweti, but leaving the final consonant unlenited or even, if nasal, reinforced by an oral ‘tail’ (**p̃t̃* > *p*, **m̃t̃* > *mp*). Elsewhere, **t̃* became *s* in Mawe (ARMADILLO **t̃aj̃tu* > *sahu*, PASS **koṽap* > *kosap*); in Aweti and PTG, it was conserved as *t* word-initially (ARMADILLO **t̃aj̃tu* > *tatu-pep*, **tatu*), and disappeared elsewhere (PASS **koṽap* > *kwap*, **kʷap*).

For the purpose of subclassification, it is important to determine whether any changes occurred in more than one branch, since they are potential shared innovations providing supporting evidence for a common higher-order node. Mawe and PTG apparently share no changes; Mawe and Aweti, on the other hand, share the merge of **ḅ* with **w* into *w* and the change of **ni* (or **nj*) to *j* before a following vowel. Since, however, **ḅ* > *w* is a fairly frequent change²⁰, and **nj* > *j*, besides being frequent typologically (especially, as in this case, in nasal contexts), is also only weakly attested (only one example, ANU BIRD), they do not provide a good argument²¹. On the other hand, the changes shared by Aweti and PTG – involving the development of PMAG **t̃* – are rather complex, context-dependent, and not really frequent. They are proposed here (and also in Meira; Drude (2013)), in addition to what Meira (2006); Corrêa da Silva (2007) had already suggested, as further evidence for an Aweti-PTG branch (‘Aweti-Guarani’ or PAG; see Meira; Drude (in prep.) for further details and a first reconstruction of PAG).

¹⁹ This leaves open the origin of the synchronically attested cases of Aweti *r*. The available cognates, including those attested only in Aweti and Tupi-Guarani, like ‘acará fish’ (Aw *akara*, PTG **akara*) or ‘anhinga bird’ (Aw *arara*, PTG **karara*), are suggestive of borrowing.

²⁰ Mello (2000, p. 256-257) has PTG **ḅ* > *w* in a number of Tupi-Guarani languages, including some belonging to different subbranches – e.g., Tembe, Xeta, Kamayura, etc. – thus implying that the change happened independently.

²¹ A better argument may come from PMAG **t̃iV* > Mawe *rjV*, Aweti *zV*, and PMAG **t̃i#* > Mawe *ri*, Aweti **zi*, if an intermediate phase **r* is posited: **t̃iV*, **t̃i#* > **rjV*, **ri*, unchanged in Mawe, but > *zV*, *zi* in Aweti (note that PMAG **r* > Aweti **z*). There are, however, complications (PMAG **t̃iC* > *ziC* in Aweti, but it remained *t̃iC* in Mawe); note, also, that *t* > *r* is a frequent change in Tupian languages (also synchronically, as lenition), unlike the changes affecting **t̃*. For these reasons, we treat the evolution of PMAG **t̃* in Mawe and Aweti as parallel developments.

(23) Changes shared by Aweti and PTG

- PMAG **jt* > Aweti, PTG *t*
- PMAG **#t* > Aweti, PTG *t* (PTG *r* phrase-internally)
- PMAG **t* > Aweti, PTG \emptyset (word-internally, in non-nasal environments)
Aweti, PTG *j* (word-internally, in nasal environments)

These shared innovations can be better visualized in the schema in figure 3 below, in which we follow the hypothesized development of non-possessed and the first three person-marked possessed forms of **tēt* ‘name’ from PMAG to Mawe and PAG (= Proto–Aweti-Guarani), and from PAG to Aweti and PTG.

The PAG third-person form is reconstructed as either **i-tet* or **cet*. The Aweti reflex suggests PAG **t*, while the PTG reflex shows the influence of the preceding **i-*. Either Aweti lost the initial **i-* in **i-tet* (an irregularity, since the prefix **i-* is not lost in Aweti in other consonant-initial stems: *tī* ‘mother’, *i-tī* ‘his/her mother’, in female speech), or the PAG form had already lost the initial **i-*, and had already changed PMAG **t* to something else, perhaps **c*, which Aweti later changed back to **t* (word-initially, so that *kuceze-ʔt* ‘squirrel’ remained unaffected). It is also possible that PAG had **i-tet* phonemically (underlyingly) but **cet* phonetically. Later on, more specific Aweti features would have arisen (the reinterpretation of third-person forms as having a prefix *t-*, with consequent reanalysis of the stem as vowel initial: $*\emptyset-tet > t-et$; the introduction of a new third-person prefix *n(a)-* in male speech, restricting *i-/t-* to the female genderlect)²².

A final comment on PMAG historical phonology is how crowded the palato-alveolar area is with various segments and sequences often having surprisingly different reflexes in the present-day languages. Most of the differences between the reconstruction presented here and what can be inferred from other proposals (see next section) are in the palato-alveolar area. It is also here that we find some surprising developments: PMAG **t* palatalizes to PTG **č/c* precisely in non-palatal environments (i.e., when the following vowel is not **i*) and is conserved or lenited in PTG in other environments. Furthermore, **ti* will change in Mawe and Aweti only if another vowel follows (in which case **ti* might be better seen as **tj*) or word-finally. It is as if PMAG speakers really cared about the distinction between **tV, *tV ~ *tjV* and **tV* sequences: **ti* (**tj*) + V is not palatalized so as not to sound like **tV*²³. Similarly, **n* in nasal environments

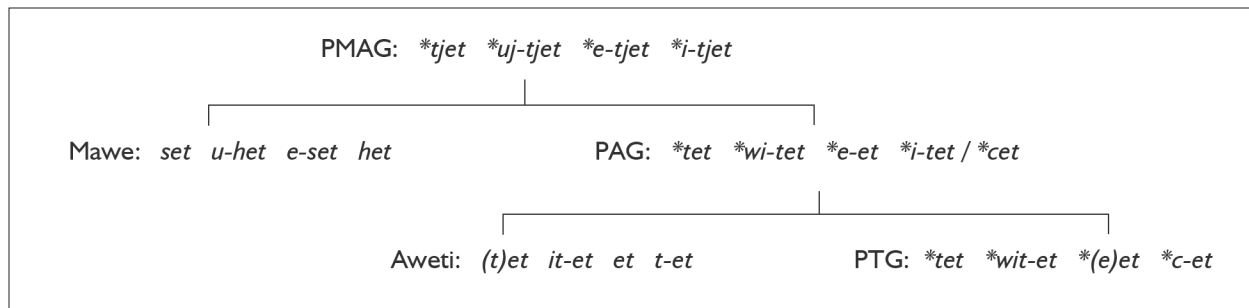


Figure 3. The development of PMAG **t* in person-marked paradigms

²² We note, in passing, that the similarities between the Aweti and PTG person markers (note the reanalysis of the stem-initial *t* as part of the first-person prefixes *it-*, *wit-*) provides further evidence in favor of an Aweti-Guarani subbranch.

²³ Similar distinctions can be found in other languages. In Russian, for instance, the difference between [ta], [tʲa] and tautosyllabic [tia], [tja] is clearly hearable and orthographically distinguished: [ta] = та, [tʲa] = тѧ and [tia], [tja] = тѧя (compare, e.g., the final syllables of брата [brata] ‘brother’s (genitive)’, тѧтя [tʲotʲa] ‘aunt’, and братьѧ [bratʲa] ‘brothers (plural)').

becomes *j* ([ɲ]) in Aweti, but not when an **i* follows. Noting also how nasalization and lenition also connect palatal segments, it becomes very easy, in the history of Maweti-Guarani (and probably Tupian) languages, for *t*, *tʰ*, *c*, *č*, *j*, *n*, *ɲ* and *r* to change into each other or to influence each other's evolution.

BRIEF COMPARISON WITH OTHER STUDIES

As was mentioned in the introduction, other studies on PMAG phonology (Rodrigues; Dietrich, 1997; Corrêa da Silva, 2007, 2010) utilized a different, 'top-down' or 'sandwich' approach, usually comparing Proto-Tupi reconstructions (from Rodrigues' work, partially published in Rodrigues; Dietrich (1997), and Rodrigues (2005, 2007)) with Mawe and Aweti words, and with PTG reconstructions, from the same source used here (Rodrigues' work, partially published in various articles; and also Mello (2000), presumably also based on Rodrigues' work). On account of that, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain what exactly the studies would claim as reconstructed PMAG protosegments: the developments in the three branches are usually directly derived from Proto-Tupi protoforms (Corrêa da Silva, 2007, p. 227 mentions MEDICINE *pohanj* : *potan* : **pocan* as reflecting Proto-Tupi **cʔ*, without it being clear whether the PMAG reflex was also supposed to be glottalized or not). The comparison below, with Corrêa da Silva (2010), is thus based on our understanding of claims often only implicitly made for PMAG.

Some of the differences stem from the different scope of Proto-Tupi and PMAG reconstructions. For instance, Rodrigues reconstructs a series of glottalized obstruents (**pʔ*, **pʷʔ*, **tʔ*, **cʔ*, **čʔ*, **kʔ*, **kʷʔ*) and a series of prenasalized stops (**mp*, **nt*, **nk*; in Rodrigues; Cabral (2012) **nt* was dropped). Since Rodrigues claims most of these consonants to have merged with their simpler counterparts in Mawe, Aweti and PTG (the evidence for their reconstruction comes from other branches), there is no problem with reconstructing PMAG **p*, **t* and **k* as an intermediate step.

A specific problem, however, arises with Rodrigues' **tʰ*: it is based on correspondences that include the ones for which PMAG **tʰ* is proposed here. This would imply that (Rodrigues') Proto-Tupi **tʰ* became PMAG **tʰ*, a rather unusual change, even with the observations at the end of the previous section in mind. Furthermore, in other branches, there seems to be no clear reflex of a glottal feature, while reflexes of palatal or fricative features abound (e.g., Munduruku *d*, Tupari *h*, Makurap *č*, Gavião *ts*, *dz*, Surui *l*, Kuruaya *l* ~ *ð*, Karitiana *s*, Karo *j*). It seems thus rather unlikely that PMAG **tʰ*, or its Proto-Tupi ancestor, had any glottal coarticulation²⁴.

In some cases, Rodrigues; Cabral (2012) and the present work disagree on the assignment of correspondences to protosegments. Rodrigues; Cabral's Proto-Tupi **tʰ*, for instance, is based on *t* : *z* : **t* and *rj* : *z* : **t* which are here assigned to PMAG **ti*, **tj* + vowel. If we assume that Rodrigues; Cabral (and Corrêa da Silva (2010)) meant for this PT **tʰ* to still have this form in PMAG, this would imply the reconstruction of **tʰi* (in, e.g., MOSQUITO, here **kʷatiʔũ*, in Rodrigues; Cabral's work **watiʔũ*), which seems unnecessary, since, in this position, **tʰi* does not seem to contrast with **ti*²⁵. In the absence

²⁴ Corrêa da Silva (2007, p. 226-227) mentions also a correspondence *ʔ* : *t* : *t*, exemplified only by HEEL *piʔa-susa* : *a-pita* : **pita*. This is apparently a mistake: Meira's data has only *pia* for Mawe (explicitly contrasted with *piʔa* 'liver'), and Drude's *pi apita* for Aweti (*apita* apparently not occurring by itself). Later, Corrêa da Silva (2010, p. 154) considered this case an irregularity (mentioning also Koch-Grünberg's *pia-zuza* for 'heel', also found in Meira's data as *piasusa*). We note, in addition, that AGOUTI *akuri* : *akuzu ʔjit* : **akuti*, here PMAG **akuti*, is given in Corrêa da Silva (2010, p. 154) as (Proto-Tupi) **akutʔi*. Since Corrêa da Silva also claims (on information from Rodrigues, pers. com.) that no cognate of AGOUTI was found outside of Maweti-Guarani, it is difficult to see why it has **tʰ* rather than **t*, even in Rodrigues' reconstruction. (Elsewhere, we saw possible cognates of AGOUTI outside of Maweti-Guarani: Munduruku *akáritʃé* 'dog', Juruna *akulí*, Xipaya *kuzi* 'agouti').

²⁵ The only case outside of possible borrowings is, as mentioned in section 'Palatal and alveolar stops', ASHAMED *tĩ* : — : **tĩ*, which does fit the rules discussed there (see examples in (9), in that section): **tĩ*, being a monosyllable, fits both the word-final and the non-word-final contexts for the evolution of PMAG **ti*; here, we see that the non-word-final context 'won' and PMAG **tĩ* became Mawe *tĩ*.

of this contrast, following Occam's razor, it does not seem necessary to posit an independent PT phoneme **t̥* to account for cases that can be explained by **t* followed by **j* or **j* and a vowel.

Even for PMAG **t*, there are differences: Rodrigues assigns *j : t : *t̥* to a simple PT **t*, leading presumably to PMAG **t*, whereas we prefer to see this correspondence as reflecting PMAG **t̥i* or **tj* + vowel. Indeed *j : t : *t̥* is in complementary distribution with *t : t : *t̥*, but so is *t : t : *č/c*. (In fact, since *t : t : *t̥* is, as we saw above, a 'weak' correspondence, with mostly possible borrowings among its examples – except for ASHAMED *t̥i* – : *t̥i*, it is basically in complementary distribution with everything else.) Rodrigues sees *t : t : *č/c* as reflexes of Proto-Tupi **č* and **c*, or, as we would see it here, of a single **c* (since, as we noted in section 'PMAG segmental phonology', the distinction between PTG **č* and **c* is not universally accepted, it would be at least hasty to assign it to PMAG or to PT solely on the basis of the dialects of Guarani). If, however, *t : t : *č/c* is assigned to **t̥*, no new proto-segments need to be posited; by Occam's razor, we again prefer this solution to Rodrigues'. As a consequence, PMAG was, in our view, a language without sibilant fricatives or affricates, all of which, in the present-day Maweti-Guarani languages, result from **t̥* or **t̥i* in various contexts.

The last important difference concerns PMAG **kʷ*, which Rodrigues reconstructs for Proto-Tupi as **w*. Rodrigues; Cabral (2012, p. 508) explicitly disagree with Moore; Galucio's (1994) reconstruction of **kʷ* for Proto-Tupari (for a *kʷ : w : w : w* correspondence), claiming a distinction between PT **kʷ* and **w*. But here the question of levels becomes crucial: even if Proto-Tupi had **kʷ* and **w* as distinct phonemes, it does not follow that Proto-Tupari (or PMAG) also did. The examples cited by Rodrigues; Cabral (2012) do not allow strict branch-internal comparison: in 'hole' vs. 'go (pl.)', there were no cognates from Tupari languages in 'hole'; in 'village center' vs. 'yams', only Mekens *ekʷat* is cited for 'village center', which could be a synchronic compound of *ek* 'house' with an element *wat*. For PMAG, it may be that PTG **kʷ*, at least in some cases, actually resulted from previous vowel sequences (PASS *kosap : kwap : *kʷap*) rather than PT **w*²⁶. Whatever the case might be for Proto-Tupi, for PMAG, Corrêa da Silva (2007, 2010), and Rodrigues; Dietrich (1997) make claims about the reflexes of Proto-Tupi **kʷ* and **w* only in specific branches (Mawe, Aweti, PTG), not in PMAG. We prefer to reconstruct PMAG **kʷ* because there already is a better candidate for **w*, namely the correspondence *w : w : *w* in (14), section 'Fricatives and approximants', and because the Aweti reflexes (*k*, *t*) suggest an occlusive element.

COGNATE SETS

For ease of reference, we list here the cognates presented as examples in the previous sections. The format is: semantic label (in small caps), reconstructed PMAG form (in bold, with an asterisk; segments in parentheses are doubtful; an entire form in parenthesis indicates that a cognate from one of the branches is missing), and the attested cognates (as before, in the order Mawe, Aweti, PTG; a short '–' dash represents a missing cognate). The initial PTG segment that reflects PMAG **t̥* is here written as **(r)*, since it disappears in certain environments. A parenthetical question mark and comment after a reconstructed PMAG form marks a cognate set suspected to involve borrowing. For a full list of cognates, see Meira and Drude (in prep.).

3SG ***i-** *i-* : *i-* : **i-*

²⁶ It may be that this word did not have **kʷ* in PTG, but really a full **ku*. Zachary O'Hagan (pers. comm.) reported [i'kua] with [u], not [w], as the Omagua cognate; he further pointed out that Lemos Barbosa would sometimes write the Tupinamba cognate as <cu(gu)aba> (probably [ku(w)ab̥a]), suggesting a syllable break between *ku* and *ab̥-a*. This would support our hypothesis that there indeed was a consonant there, ultimately from PMAG **t̥*.

ABOUT ***ete** *ete* : *ete* : **ece*

AGOUTI ***akuti** *akuri* : *akuzu* *ʔjit*²⁷, **akuti*

ANU BIRD ***anjũ**, ***aniũ** *ajũ-nʔi* : *ajũ* : **anũ*

ARMADILLO ***tʰajtu** *sahu* : *tatu-pep* : **tatu*

ASHAMED (***tĩ**) *tĩ* : – : **tĩ*

AT/IN ***pe** *pe* : *pe* : **pe*

AX ***kʷi** *iwi-hap* : *ki* : **ji*

BACK ***(ʔ)ape** *ape* : *ʔape* : **ape*

BE /LIVE ***eko** *eko* : *eko* : *eko*

BEANS ***kumana** (? – possible borrowing) *kumana* : *kumanaʔi* : **kumana*

BIG ***wat(o/u)** *wato* : *watu* : *waču*

BITTER²⁸ ***rõp** *nop* : *lop* : **rop*

BLACK ***kʷuun** *huun* : – : **un*

BLOOD ***tʰuwi(k)** *suu* : *uwik* : *(*r*)*uwi*

BLOW ***pekʷu** *pehu* : *petu* : **peju*

BONE ***kaŋ** *kaŋ* : *kaŋ* : **kaŋ*

BRANCH ***tʰakã** *jãŋã* : *akã* : *(*r*)*akã*

BURN ***apɨ** *api* : *api* : **api*

BURITI (PALM) (***m(u/i)riti**) (? – possible borrowing, TG > Mawe) *miriti* : – : **muriti*

CHEST ***potiʔa** *potiʔa* : *poziʔa* : **potiʔa*

CHIEF (***morekwat**) (? possible borrowing) *morekwat* : *morekwat* : –²⁹

CALL ***enõj** *h-enoj* : *ejõj* : **enõj*

CLOUD ***(iwi)tɨŋ** *iwi-hiŋ* : *iwi-tiŋ* : *iβa-tiŋ*

COM.CAUS (= COMITATIVE CAUSATIVE) ***er(o/e)-** *er-*, *ere-* : *zo-* : *ero-*

COME ***ut** (*u*)*ut* : *ut* : **ut*

COOKED ***kʷip** *wip* : *o-kip* : **jip*

CORN ***aβati** (? – probable borrowing) *awati* : *awati* : **aβati*

CURRASOW ***mɨtiũ(ŋ)**, ***mɨtjũ(ŋ)** *mijũ* : *mituŋ* : *mitũ*

DEER ***(i)tɨi** – : *ti-wapat*, *itii*

DIE (PL.) ***pap** *pap* : *pap* : **pap*

DO ***rj(u/o)ŋ**, ***nj(u/o)ŋ** *nurj* : *juŋ* : **ruŋ* ~ **roŋ* ~ **noŋ* (Rodrigues & Dietrich 1997), **noŋ* (Mello 2000)

DOOR ***oken** *oken-ipi* : *oten* : **oken*

EARTH (***ʔij**) *ʔij* : – : **ʔij*

EAT ***ʔu** *uʔu* : *ʔu* : **ʔu*

EGG ***upiʔa** *upiʔa* : *n-upiʔa* : **upiʔa*

²⁷ Final *u* probably from assimilation in non-stressed syllable (the final *ʔit* is stressed): **akuri* > **akuzi* > *akuzu*.

²⁸ This form is odd in that it has the only sequence of a nasal vowel followed by an oral consonant in our cognate sets. There may be further details in its history that need additional clarification.

²⁹ Not reconstructed in Mello (2000) or in Rodrigues' works, but cf. Kamayura *morekwat* 'chief' (Seki 2000)

ENTER ***ejke** *we-eke* : *ece* : *(e)jke
 EXIT ***tem** *wěẽ-tem* : *tem* : *čem
 EYE ***et-tla** (*e*)*ha* : (*e*)*ta* : eča (Rodrigues and Dietrich 1997), eca (Mello 2000)
 FACE ***(e/o)βa** (*e*)*wa* : *owa* : *oβa
 FALL ***ʔat** *aʔat* : *ʔat* : *ʔat
 FATHER ***tup** *sup*³⁰ : *up* : *(r)up
 FEED ***poj** *poj* : *poj* : *poj
 FETID ***riem**, ***rjem**, maybe simply ***rem** *nem* : *jem* : *nem ~ *rem
 FIELD ***ko** *ko* : *ko* : *ko
 FINGER (NAIL) ***p(uʔ)u(j)ã** *puʔujã* : *puã* : *p^wã
 FIRE ***atia**, ***atja** *arja* : *aza* : *ata
 FLAT ***peep** *peep* : *iwi-pep*³¹ : *pep
 FLEA ***tiuj**, ***tjuj** *juj* : *tuj* : *tuj
 FLOWER ***pojtiit** *i-pohiit* : *ʔa-potit* : *potit
 FOOT ***pi** *pi* : *pi* : *pi
 FRUIT ***ʔa** *ʔa* : *ʔa* : *ʔa
 GRANDFATHER ***am(ó/ũ)(j)** *h-amũ* : *amũj* : *amõj
 GO ***to** *to* : *to* : *co
 GOOD ***kajtu** *kahu* : *katu* : *katu
 HAIR ***tʔap** *sap* : *ap* : *(r)ap
 HAMMOCK ***(ʔ)(i/i)nĩ** *ʔini* : *ʔinĩ* : *inĩ
 HAND ***po** *po* : *po* : *po
 HEAD HAIR ***ʔatʔap** (from *ʔa 'head' + *tʔap 'hair') *asap* : *ʔap* : *ʔap
 HEAVY ***potij** *potij* : *potij* : *pocij
 HOT ***tʔakup** *sakup* : *akup* : *(r)akup
 HOUSE ***(t)ok** *sok*³² : *ok* : *(r)ok
 HUNGER ***tʔiʔa(t)** *siʔʔat* : *tiʔa-βot*
 KILL (***k^wuka**) *ʔa-uka* : *ʔa-uka* : *juka
 LEAF ***tʔop** *i-hop* : *op* : *(r)op
 LICK ***eereep** *eereep*³³ : *ezepe* : *erepe
 LIP ***tʔepe** *jẽpe* : *ẽpe* : *(r)eme
 LOUSE ***ŋip** *ŋip* : *ʔakip* (from earlier *ʔa 'head' + *kip 'louse') : *kip
 MANIOC ***mani** *mani* : *maniʔok* : *maniʔok (cf. Aweti, Tupi-Guarani *ʔok* 'tuber')

³⁰ Mawe *sup* is not 'father', but 'semen'.

³¹ Aweti *iwi-pep* means 'ground', apparently from 'earth' + 'flat'. Cf. also Aweti *tatu-pep* 'armadillo'.

³² Mawe *sok* is not 'house', but 'nest'. The parenthetical ***(t)** in the reconstruction reflects the fact that the PTG cognate, despite being a class II stem (i.e., it occurs with the "relational" *r*- when possessed), has no consonantal onset when non-possessed (***ok**, without ***t-** or ***c-**), unlike other class II stems. For this reason, it is usually placed in a separate subclass (IIc).

³³ There is some variation in the Mawe data as to whether both vowels in this word are long, or only one of them.

MAN'S DAUGHTER ***takwiʔit** *sakiʔit : atiʔit : *(r)ajit*

MAN'S SISTER *(**i/e**)**nit** *init : jīt : *enit*

MAN'S OLDER BROTHER *(**ʔ**)**ikeʔit** *ʔikeʔet : itiʔit : *ʔikeʔit*

MANY *(**e**)**tia**, *(**e**)**tja** *-rja : -za : *eta*

MEDICINE ***pot-tʌŋ** *pohaŋ : potaŋ : *pocaŋ*

MOON ***kʷaati** *waati : tati : *jači*

MORTAR *(**wě**)**kuʔa** *wěkuʔa : ʔěkuʔa : *iŋuʔa*

MOSQUITO ***kʷatiʔũ** *watiʔũ : taziʔũ : *jatiʔũ*

MOTHER ***ti** *ti : tī : *či*

NECK³⁴ ***kʷut** *hut-ʔip [huʔɪp] : tur-ʔip [tuʔɪp] : *jut*

NAME ***tiet** *set : et : *(r)et*

NAVEL ***pɪrupʔã** *pɪrumʔa : pilup : pɪruʔã (Rodrigues; Dietrich, 1997), pɪruã (Mello, 2000)*

O.NZ (= OBJECT NOMINALIZER) ***mi-** *mi- : mi- : *mi-*

PAIN ***tati** *sati : ati : *(r)ači*

PASS ***kotʌp** *kosap : kwap : *kʷap*

PLACE ***etiam**, ***etjam** *ejam : tam, etam : *etam*

PULL ***ekij** *ekij : ekij : *ekij*

RAIN ***ama(a)n** *iʔ-ama(a)n : aman : *aman*

RED-1³⁵ ***kʷup** *hup : tup : *jup*

RED-2 (***pɪraŋ**) – : *pɪraŋ : pɪraŋ (perhaps reconstructible only to Proto-Aweti-Guarani)*

RFL (= REFLEXIVE) ***kʷe-** *we- : te- : *je-*

ROOT ***tapo** *sapo : apo : *(r)apo*

SALIVA *(**tětɪ**) *jětɪ-hi : – : *(r)eni*

SALT ***kʷukit** *ukit : tukit : *jukit*

SEARCH *(**i/e**)**kaat** *(i)kaat : (j)kat : *ekat*

SEE/HEAR ***ětup** *wan-ětup : (ě)tup : *enup*

SEED ***tʌʔij** *jaʔij : aʔij : *(r)aʔij*

SEIZE ***pɪtik** *pɪtik : pitik : *pitik*

SEIZE-2 *(**j**)**aat** *aat : – : *(j)at*

SHOOT *(**ʔ**)**iβō** – : *ʔiwō : iβō*

SHOULDER ***t(a/ã)tiʔip(i)** *jātiʔipi : aziʔip : *(r)atiʔip*

SKIN/BODY ***piit** *piit : pit : *pit*

SLAP *(**petek**) *petek : – : petek*

SLEEP ***ket** *ket : tet : *kiet*

SMOKE ***tij** *i-hij (probably *ʔip 'tree, wood' + *tɪj) : tij : *tij*

³⁴ Aweti and Mawe have the phonetically lenited *r*; we thus have the regular **t* correspondence *t : t : *t*. Note that both Mawe and Aweti (may) have the same metathesis here.

³⁵ Mawe *hup* means 'red', but Aweti *tup* and PTG **jup* mean 'yellow'.

SNAKE ***mōj** *moj* : *mōj* : **moj*
SQUIRREL (***kutiere**, ***kutjere**) *kutiere* : *kuceze-ʔjit* : –
SWEET ***i-tieʔě** *heʔě* : *teʔě* : **čeʔě* (apparently a lexicalized third-person form)
SWIM ***ijta(p)** *iha* : *ita-tap* : **itap*
TERMITE ***ɲupi** *ɲupi-ʔa* : *kupi-ʔa*, *kupi-ʔĩ* : *kupi-ʔi*
TAIL ***tuwaj** *suwaj-po* : *uwaj* : *(*r*)*uwaj*
THICK ***anam** *iʔ-anam* : *ʔajam* : **anam*
THIGH ***ʔup** *ʔup* : *ʔup* : **ʔup*
TOOTH ***tāj** *jāj* : *āj* : *(*r*)*āj*
TORTOISE ***kʷaβoti** *wawori* : *tawozi* : **jaβoti*
TOUCAN ***tiukan**, ***tjukan** *jũkan* : *tukan* : **tukan*
TRAÍRA (FISH) (***taraʔira**) (? – possible borrowing, TG > Mawe) *taraʔira* : – : *taraʔir-a*
TWO (***mokōj**) – : *mokōj* : **mokōj*
VILLAGE (***taaba**) (? – possible borrowing, TG > Mawe) *taawa* : – : **taaba*
VULTURE ***uruβu** *uruwu* : *uzuwu* : **uruβu*
WASP ***ɲap** *ɲap* : *kap* : **kap*
WATER ***ʔi** *iʔi* : *ʔi* : **ʔi*
WIND ***iβit(u)** (? – possible borrowing, TG > Mawe) *iwitu* : *iwit* : **iβitu*
WOMAN'S SON ***mēpit** *mēpit* : *mēpit* : **memit*

REFERENCES

- CABRAL, A. S.; RODRIGUES, A. D. *Dicionário da língua Asuriní do Tocantins*. Belém: UFPA; Brasília: UnB. 2003.
- CAMPBELL, L. *Historical linguistics: an introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Cambridge: MIT Press. 2004.
- CORRÊA DA SILVA, B. C. Mais fundamentos para a hipótese de Rodrigues (1984/1985) de um Proto-Aweti-Tupi-Guarani. In: RODRIGUES, A. D.; CABRAL, A. S. (ed.). *Línguas e culturas tupi*. Brasília: LALI/UnB; Campinas, SP: Curt Nimuendaju. 2007. p. 219-240.
- CORRÊA DA SILVA, B. C. da. *Mawe/Aweti/Tupi-Guarani: relações linguísticas e implicações históricas*. Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de Brasília, Brasília, 2010.
- DRUDE, S. On the position of the Aweti language in the Tupi family. In: DIETRICH, W. (ed.). *Guarani y 'MAweti-Tupi-Guarani': estudios históricos y descriptivos sobre una familia lingüística de America del Sur*. Münster: Lit Verlag. 2006. p. 11-45.
- DRUDE, S. Nasal harmony in Aweti and the Maweti-Guarani family (Tupi). *Amerindia*, v. 32, p. 239-276, 2009.
- GALUCIO, A. V.; MEIRA, S.; BIRCHALL, J.; MOORE, D.; DRUDE, S.; GABAS JR, N.; STORTO, L.; PICANÇO, G.; REIS RODRIGUES, C. Genealogical relations and lexical distances within the Tupian linguistic family. *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas*, v. 10, n. 2, 2015.
- JENSEN, C. Comparative Tupi-Guarani morphosyntax. In: DERBYSHIRE, D. C.; PULLUM, G. K. (ed.). *Handbook of Amazonian languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998. p. 487-618.
- JENSEN, C. Tupi-Guarani. In: DIXON, R. M. W.; AIKHENVALD, A. Y. (ed.). *The Amazonian languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p. 125-163.
- KOCH-GRÜNBERG, Th. Wörterlisten « tupý », maué und purúborá. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, v. 24, n 1, p. 31-50, 1932.



- LEITE, Y. A classificação do Tapirapé na família Tupi-Guarani. **Ensaios de lingüística – Cadernos de lingüística e teoria da literatura**, Belo Horizonte, v. 4, n. 7, p. 25-32, 1982.
- LEITE, Y. A classificação do Tapirapé na família Tupi-Guarani. In: FRANCHETTO, Bruna; COUTINHO-SILVA, Thiago (ed.). **Línguas indígenas: memórias de uma pesquisa infinda**. Rio de Janeiro: Viveiros de Castro Editora, 2012. p. 60-68.
- LEMLE, M. Internal classification of the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. In: BENDOR-SAMUEL, D. (ed.). **Tupi studies I**. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1971. p. 107-129.
- MEIRA, S. Stative verbs vs. nouns in Sateré-Mawe and the Tupian family. In: ROWICKA, G.; CARLIN, E. (ed.). **What's in a verb? Studies in the verbal morphology of the languages of the Americas**. Utrecht, The Netherlands: LOT, 2006. p. 184-214.
- MEIRA, S. Certain problems with current reconstructions of Proto-Tupi-Guarani phonology. In preparation
- MEIRA, S.; DRUDE, S. A reconstruction of Proto-Maweti-Guarani. In preparation.
- MEIRA, S.; DRUDE, S. Sobre a origem histórica dos "prefixos relacionais" das línguas Tupi-Guarani. **Cadernos de Etnolingüística**, v. 5, n. 1, p. 1-31. 2013. Available at: <<http://www.etnolingüística.org/issue:vol5n1>>. Accessed on: Aug. 8, 2015.
- MELLO, A. A. S. **Estudo histórico da família lingüística Tupi-Guarani: aspectos fonológicos e lexicais**. Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, 2000.
- MOORE, D.; GALUCIO, A. V. Reconstruction of Proto-Tupari consonants and vowels. In: LANGDON, M. (Ed.). **Proceedings of the Meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, July 2-4, 1993, and the Hokan-Penutian Workshop, July 3, 1993**. Berkeley, CA: Survey of California and other Indian languages (Report n. 8), 1994. p. 119-137.
- RODRIGUES, Aryon D. Relações internas na família lingüística Tupi-Guarani. **Revista de Antropologia**, São Paulo, v. 27/28, p. 33-53, 1984/85.
- RODRIGUES, A. D. Tupi. In: DIXON, R. M. W.; AIKHENVALD, A. Y. (ed.). **The Amazonian languages**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p. 107-124.
- RODRIGUES, A. D. As vogais orais do Proto-Tupi. In: CABRAL, A. S. A.; RODRIGUES, A. D. (ed.). **Novos estudos sobre línguas indígenas**. Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 2005. p. 35-46.
- RODRIGUES, A. D. As consoantes do Proto-Tupi. In: CABRAL, A. S. A. C.; RODRIGUES, A. D. (ed.). **Línguas e culturas tupi**. Campinas: Curt Nimuendaju; Brasília: LALI, 2007. p. 167-203.
- RODRIGUES, A. D.; CABRAL, A. S. A. C. Tupian. In: CAMPBELL, L.; GRONDONA, V. (ed.). **The indigenous languages of South America: a comprehensive guide**. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012. p. 495-574.
- RODRIGUES, A. D.; DIETRICH, W. On the linguistic relationship between Mawe and Tupi-Guarani. **Diachronica**, v. 14, n. 2, p. 265-304, 1997.
- SCHLEICHER, C. O. **Comparative and internal reconstruction of the Tupi-Guarani language family**. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1998.
- SEKI, L. **Gramática do Kamaiurá, língua Tupi-Guarani do Alto Xingu**. Campinas (SP): Editora da UNICAMP, 2000.